
FEATURE ARTICLE

Ukraine

By

Major John P. Connell, USA
Security Assistance Officer, USDAO Kiev

"Study my brothers, think and read, learn from the others, but don't forsake your own."

T. Shevchenko

INTRODUCTION

Tarac Shevchenko (1814-1861), Ukraine's greatest literary figure, is noted for his vast talents in poetry, music, and painting. But he is most revered for his writings on Ukraine in the Ukrainian language, which helped to preserve the culture and the language of the people in the face of a determined program of Russification. The above quote can be found in virtually every school and public institution in Ukraine, and while it provides good advice for every day life, it also reminds Ukrainians to learn from other peoples, but never to forget their own heritage.

The world has changed greatly since Shevchenko wrote these words in the 19th Century. One could scarcely predict the future in which during a span of just ten years the Iron Curtain would dissolve, the Soviet Union would cease to exist, and in its place would be 15 new independent states with which the United States would enjoy entirely different relations. Of these new nations, Ukraine has rapidly emerged as a key player in many U.S. foreign policy activities.

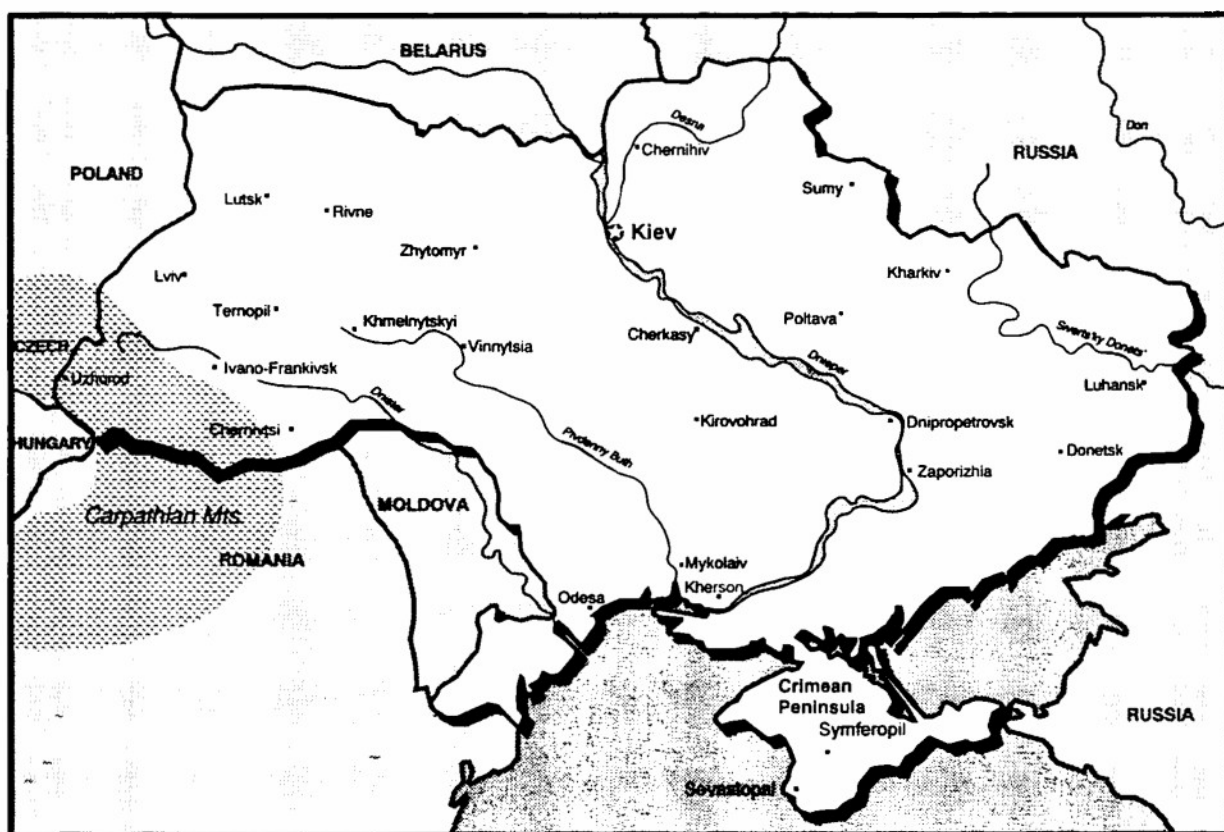
For many Americans, Ukraine is an unknown country. Others are inclined to assume it is a part of its larger neighbor to the north, Russia. Still others call to mind the fierce horseback Cossacks depicted in Gogal's classic novella *Taras Bulba*. Those that do know something of Ukraine may not be aware that the United States and Canada each possess large populations of the Ukrainian Diaspora, concentrated mainly in the northeast and along the U.S.—Canada border.

The purpose of this article is to shed some light on a country with which the U.S. will have close ties far into the foreseeable future. My focus will be on providing background information on the country to help put a face on the people and a place on the map for Ukraine. We will then look at the U.S. Security Assistance program in Ukraine, with a view toward understanding what is happening in Ukraine today and its potential for tomorrow.

Report Documentation Page				Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
Public reporting burden for the collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to a penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number.					
1. REPORT DATE 1996		2. REPORT TYPE		3. DATES COVERED 00-00-1996 to 00-00-1996	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Ukraine				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S)				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management (DISAM),DISAM/DR,2475 K Street,Wright-Patterson AFB,OH,45433-7641				8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	
12. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release; distribution unlimited					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES The DISAM Journal, Fall 1996, Volume 19, Issue 1, p.1-14					
14. ABSTRACT					
15. SUBJECT TERMS					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT Same as Report (SAR)	18. NUMBER OF PAGES 13	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT unclassified	b. ABSTRACT unclassified	c. THIS PAGE unclassified			

PEOPLE, GEOGRAPHY, AND ECONOMY

Ukraine is located in southeastern Europe. Its total territory of 233,090 square miles (603,700 square kilometers) is slightly smaller than that of Texas. It is bordered by Romania, Moldova, Hungary, Slovakia, Poland, Belarus, and Russia, and shares a common sea frontier with Turkey. With the exception of the Carpathian Mountains to the west and a small mountain range in Crimea, the preponderance of Ukraine is a rolling plain called *Steppes*. This land is famous for its fertile black soil called *chernozem*, which made Ukraine the bread basket of the Soviet Union. There are several major river systems, the most significant of which is the Dnieper (Europe's third largest river), which flows from north to south, bisecting Ukraine into a left and right bank.



Map of Ukraine

Ukraine's population of approximately 52,000,000 is comparable to that of France. It has an average population density of 85.9 per square kilometer (the European average is 67).

Ukraine is inhabited by people representing more than 100 different nationalities and ethnic groups. Whereas the preponderance is Ukrainian (75 percent), there are sizable numbers of other nationalities, including eleven million ethnic Russians (21 percent), and three million people of Jewish descent or neighboring ethnic groups (Belorussians, Moldavians, Poles, Bulgarians, and Hungarians). With a literacy rate at nearly 100 percent and an extensive array of universities, schools, and institutes, one could easily argue that Ukraine's people are its most valuable resource.

Figure 1
UKRAINE FACTS IN BRIEF

Official Name: Ukraine (Ukrayina)
Official Language: Ukrainian
Capital: Kiev (Largest City, 2.6 Million)
Area: 233,090 Square Miles
Population: 52,000,000 (Est)
Type of Government: Parliamentary Democracy, Constitution 28 June 1996
Head of State: President Leonid D. Kuchma, Elected: 1994
Prime Minister: Pavlo Lazarenko, Appointed June 1996
Defense Minister: Oleksandr Kuzmuk, Appointed July 1996
GDP: \$205.4 Billion
Currency: Grivna (Exchange Rate: 1.75 To 1 U.S. Dollar)

Ukraine is rich in iron ore, coal, manganese, natural gas, and salt. Occupying a mere 2.7 percent of the former USSR's territory, Ukraine accounted for almost one-fifth of the Soviet Union's industrial production, including half of all iron ore extraction, 23 percent of all coal mining, and one third of all steel and rolled stock. It contributed one half of the sugar beet fields of the former USSR, 41 percent of all sunflower seeds, and 21-23 percent of all meat, dairy products, and potatoes. These production levels continue in today's independent Ukraine.

Ukraine operates diversified industries, including production of cast iron, steel, rolled stock, pipes, shipbuilding, aircraft manufacturing, and the manufacture of factory machinery, tractors, excavators, computers, and household equipment and appliances. The country has also inherited a powerful military-industrial base comprising more than 700 industrial sites with over a million engineers and workmen, much of which is in the process of conversion to peacetime applications.

HISTORY

Ukraine means *borderland*, which is an appropriate name for a country which frequently endured much of its history as a frontier for her neighbors. It is only appropriate then that Ukraine's national anthem is entitled, "Shche ne vmerla Ukrayina" (Ukraine still has not perished).

Prehistory

Human beings have lived in the Ukraine region for about 300,000 years. One of the earliest cultures was that of the Trypillians, who lived in southwestern Ukraine from about 4000 to 2000 B.C. The Trypillians raised crops for a living, decorated pottery, and made drills for boring holes in wood and stone.

By about 1500 B.C., nomadic herders occupied the region. They included a warlike, horse-riding people called the Cimmerians, who lived between the Don and Dnieper Rivers and practiced slave holding. The Scythians, a people from central Asia, conquered the Cimmerians about 700 B.C. Between 700 and 600 B.C., Greeks established colonies on the northern coast of the Black Sea, and the ruins of many of their colonies can be seen near Sevastopol and elsewhere along the Crimea. But the Scythians controlled most of the region until about 200 B.C., when they fell to a group called the Sarmatians. The region was invaded by Germanic tribes from the west in A.D. 270 and by the Huns, an Asian people, in 375.

Rise of Kiev

Legend has it that three brothers and a sister founded Kiev, the present Ukraine capital. The oldest of the brothers, Ki, gave his name to the city. This legend is commemorated in a monument to the family along the shores of the Dnieper, a photo of which is on the front cover of this issue of *The DISAM Journal*. During the A.D. 800's, a Slavic civilization called Rus grew up at Kiev and at other points along the important trade routes between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea. Kiev became the first of the East Slavic states and was known as Kievan Rus. Scandinavian merchant-warriors called Varangians (also known as Vikings) played a part in organizing the East Slavic tribes into Kievan Rus. The Slavic tribes turned to Varangians to prevent any one Slavic family from becoming too powerful. This practice occurred in other countries of Europe, of which Poland is another good example. Oleg, a Varangian, became Kiev's first ruler in 882. During the 900's, other states recognized Kiev's leadership.

Vladimir I (Volodymyr in Ukrainian), the ruler of the Russian city of Novgorod, conquered Kievan Rus in 980. Under his rule, the state became a political, economic, and cultural power in Europe. About 988, Vladimir became a Christian and made Christianity the state religion. Before the East Slavs became Christians, they had worshipped idols and spirits of nature. In 1240, Mongol tribes known as Tatars swept across the Ukrainian plains from the east and conquered the region. The conquest of Kiev signaled the end of Kiev as a major power, and heralded the rise of new states, particularly Poland, Lithuania, and the Duchy of Moscow.

Lithuanian and Polish Rule

After the fall of Kievan Rus, several principalities (regions ruled by princes) developed in the Ukraine region. The state of Galicia-Volhynia grew in importance in what is now western Ukraine. In the 1300's, however, Poland took control of Galicia. Lithuania seized Volhynia and later, Kiev. Under Polish and Lithuanian rule, Ukrainian peasants were bound to the land as serfs, farmworkers who were not free to leave the land they worked. By 1569, Poland ruled all of the region.

During this period, many discontented peasants joined bands of independent soldiers that became known as Cossacks. They occupied the territory that lay between the Poles and the Tatars. Cossacks played an important role in limiting the spread of Turkish-Tatar influence in the region, often paying a heavy price in lives and property. In 1648, a Cossack named Bohdan Khmelnytsky led an uprising that freed Ukraine from Polish control. However, he was hard-

pressed to consolidate his gains, and turned to the north for an ally. On January 8, 1654, Khmelnitsky formed an alliance with the Czar (Emperor) of Russia against Poland (which was called an Act of Reunification of the Cossack State with Russia). Whereas the Cossacks viewed the treaty as an alliance that would ensure their autonomy, the Russians quickly set out to use this as a pretext to subjugate the region.

Russian Rule

Poland and Russia continued to grow in strength during the seventeenth century, and in 1667, Ukraine was divided between them. Poland gained control of lands west of the Dnieper River, while Ukrainian lands east of the Dnieper had self-rule but came under Russian protection. Russia continued its policy of consolidation and Russification, and by 1764, had abolished Ukrainian self-rule. In the 1790's, with the partition of Poland, Russia gained control of all of Ukraine except Galicia, which Austria ruled from 1772 until 1918.

Russia favored its language and culture over those of the Ukrainians and other peoples. From 1863 to 1905, it banned publications in the Ukrainian language. The Austrians, however, allowed the Ukrainians greater freedom than did the Russians. As a result, Galicia became a major center of Ukrainian culture during the 1800's.

This difference in heritage is reflected today in the language and thinking of Ukrainians. In the west, Ukrainian, with a heavy borrowing of Polish and some German, is spoken on the streets, but in the east and in the major cities, Russian tends to predominate.

Soviet Rule

Russian Bolsheviks established a Communist government in Russia after the October Revolution of 1917. In 1918, the Ukrainians formed an independent, non-Communist country called the Ukrainian People's Republic. Communist Russia, however, had superior military power and seized eastern and central Ukraine by 1920. The rest of Ukraine came under Polish, Czechoslovak, and Romanian control.

Ukraine became one of the four original republics of the Soviet Union 1922. During the 1920's, the Soviet government encouraged Ukrainian culture and the use of the Ukrainian language to weaken opposition to the Communist system. By the 1930's, however, Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin began his policy of Russification, which imposed the Russian language and culture on the Ukrainian people.

In the late 1920's and early 1930's, the Communist government took over control of privately-owned farms in Ukraine and combined them into larger, state-run farms. This program, called collectivization, brought great hardship to Ukraine's people. Several hundred thousand Ukrainian farmers resisted the seizure of their land and were sent to prison labor camps in Siberia or Soviet Central Asia. In 1932 and 1933, the Soviet government seized grain and food from people's homes, causing a major famine. Whereas the Holodomor famine of 1921 caused over one million deaths due to starvation, the 'manmade' Holodomor famine of 1932-1933 resulted in between five million and seven and one-half million Ukrainian deaths from starvation.

World War II

The August 1939 signing of a mutual non-aggression agreement between the USSR and Germany—the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact—rejoined many western Ukrainian lands to Ukraine. However, it also brought about the deportation of 1,173,000 'undesirables' to Siberia (ten percent of the population of the region). Nazi Germany subsequently violated the pact and

occupied Ukraine from mid-1941 to mid-1944. Over 40 percent of all dwellings were destroyed, and about five million Ukrainian civilians, including 600,000 Ukrainian Jews, were killed during the war. In one infamous instance alone, in the ravine of Babi Yar, in what is now suburban Kiev, over 200,000 Jews, Gypsies, Communists, and other 'undesirables' were executed between September 1941 and September 1943. During the Nazi occupation, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, a force of about 40,000 soldiers, fought both Germany and the Soviet Union for Ukrainian independence. It continued fighting the Soviets until the early 1950's.

By the end of World War II in 1945, the Soviet Union had taken control of many parts of Ukraine that previously had belonged to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania. That year, the Soviet Republics of Ukraine and Belorussia, as well as the USSR itself, became three separate members of the original group of 50 members of the United Nations. In order to persuade the USSR to join the U.N., the Western allies agreed to this unique arrangement which gave the Soviet Union three separate votes in the U.N. In 1954, on the three hundredth anniversary of Bohdan Khmelnytsky's signing of the Reunification of Ukraine to Russia, Nikita Khrushchev, then ruler of the Soviet Union, transferred control of the Crimea to Ukraine.



Bohdan Khmelnytsky

Protest Movements

Many Ukrainians opposed Soviet Russian control and the limits imposed on the Ukrainian culture. In the 1960's, a protest movement developed to advance human rights and the rights of the Ukrainian people. Although thousands of protesters were arrested, the movement continued during the 1970's and 1980's.

The Chernobyl Disaster

In 1986, a spectacular explosion and fire at the nuclear power plant in Chernobyl, near Kiev, released large amounts of radioactive material into the atmosphere. Over 5 million hectares were contaminated, of which 3.5 million had been arable lands. 100,000 people had to be rapidly evacuated, and a 30 kilometer danger zone was established ('a zone of alienation'). Nuclear fallout from the accident caused many health and environmental problems, the full extent of which will probably never be known.

Soviet officials claimed only 31 people died from the accident, with about another 200 seriously injured. But in the early 1990's, Ukrainian officials reported that from 6,000 to 8,000 people had died as a result of the explosion and its aftermath. The disaster has caused high rates of cancer and other illnesses in Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia, and workers involved in the cleanup have suffered from cancer rates 3.5 times higher than the Ukrainian average. The plant, which continues to operate an undamaged reactor, is presently scheduled to be closed in the near future, and western aid has been offered to help pay for its closure.

Independence

The Ukrainian nationalist movement began to gain strength during the late 1980's. Ukrainians demanded more control over Ukraine's government, economy, and culture. In 1990, Ukraine's parliament passed a declaration of state sovereignty. This declaration stated that Ukraine would follow its own laws if they came in conflict with those of the Soviet Union.

In August 1991, conservative Communists failed in an attempt to overthrow a reform-minded Soviet government. The failed coup renewed demands for self-rule among the Soviet republics, including Ukraine. Soon afterward, Ukraine's parliament declared Ukraine independent. Several other republics made similar declarations. On December 1, over 90 percent of Ukrainians voted in favor of independence. Leonid M. Kravchuk, a former Communist official who became a Ukrainian nationalist and a democrat, was elected president.

UKRAINE TODAY

On Dec. 25, 1991, the Soviet Union was dissolved. Ukraine and most of the other former Soviet republics created a loose association called the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) to deal with economic and military problems caused by the breakup. While some states saw the Commonwealth as a means of preserving common economic and cultural ties, many Ukrainians viewed the CIS as a temporary association. They feared a commonwealth led by Russia would limit Ukrainian independence. Ukraine and Russia argued over many issues, including how the Soviet Navy's Black Sea fleet should be divided. In May 1992, Russia's Supreme Soviet voted to declare the Soviet government's 1954 grant of Crimea to Ukraine an illegal act. Ukraine opposed this decision.

With her independence in 1991, Ukraine was faced with the enormous task of building an entire government. Whole ministries had to be established either from scratch or by upgrading existing agencies to cabinet level. Elections on 10 July 1994 resulted in a peaceful transfer of power between then president Leonid Kravchuk and the new and present president Leonid Kuchma. Work continued to replace the Soviet era constitution with a new one which codified democratic principles. After much debate, this document was passed by the Rada (the Ukraine Parliament) on 28 June 1996.

The transition to a post-Soviet economy has been long and rocky. In the first five years of its existence, the GDP fell by more than 50 percent. In conjunction with political initiatives to

help Ukraine charter an independent path, radical changes in the economy were necessary. The privatization of the economy has begun, though many industries are still pending conversion over to private control. In 1992, Ukraine elected to withdraw from the ruble zone and establish its own currency called the Karbovanets, or coupon. Massive inflation set in, and in a few short years, the exchange rate leaped from 100 to a U.S. dollar, to the 175,000 of today. However, strict monetary policies have brought inflation under control, and Ukraine has now a follow-on permanent currency called the Grivna.

DEVELOPMENT OF A POST-SOVIET MILITARY

The modern origins of the Ukrainian defense establishment of today can be traced back to January 1992, when officers and enlisted soldiers of the Soviet Army serving in Ukraine took oaths of allegiance to Ukraine. With this step, Ukraine gained the second largest army in Europe. This would also prove that the road ahead to a viable military force would be problematic. Furthermore, 10,000 officers and soldiers refused to take this oath. As the vast majority were of other nationalities and regions of the former Soviet Union, they were transferred to their homes.

The Ukrainians quickly set out to develop an independent force complete with its own customs and traditions. The blue and yellow colors with inset trident replaced the red star on Ukrainian vehicles and buildings. Historical figures who either battled against the Russians or were discredited in the past by the Soviets for politically unacceptable reasons were rehabilitated (witness the re-naming of the Ukrainian Navy Flagship in honor of the famed 17th Century Cossak leader Hetman Petro Sahaidachnyi).



Navy Ukrainian Flagship Hetman Sahaidachnyi

Other monumental hurdles also had to be overcome. Upon gaining its independence, Ukraine inherited that portion of the Soviet nuclear weapons arsenal that was deployed on

Ukrainian soil, making her a de facto nuclear power. On 30 December, 1991, an agreement was reached in Minsk that set the groundwork for her to become a non-nuclear state. The agreement called for all tactical nuclear weapons to be removed by 1 June 1992, and all strategic weapons by the end of 1994. Although this agreement developed several problems in implementation, the objective of becoming a nuclear free state was achieved on 31 May 1996, with the delivery of the last strategic weapon to Russia. At the time of this article's publication, Ukraine is engaged in the dismantling of its strategic launch vehicles and silos.

An ongoing problem continues to be the disposition of the Black Sea Fleet. This issue traces its origins to January 1992, when the commandants of the Kiev, Odessa, and Pre-Carpathian Military Districts refused to take their oaths of allegiance to Ukraine and were subsequently relieved. The government however decided not to relieve the Russian-appointed commander of the Black Sea Fleet, which ensured that Russia would continue to play a dominant role in its operations. This problem was temporarily solved with the decision in 1992 to place the fleet under the joint command of the presidents of both Russia and Ukraine. However, the question of dividing up the fleet arose again with Ukraine's decision in April 1992 to form a Black Sea Fleet of its own. Numerous talks have been held between the heads of state and other cabinet level officials, and while many agreements have been reached, the largest obstacles of all remain. As of this article's publication, the two countries have now reached preliminary agreements on the fleet and have divided up much of its equipment. But they are continuing to remain at odds over the status of the city of Sevastopol, the fleet's base, and the fate of many of its facilities.

Ukraine's military today represents a force in transition. Ukraine's leadership must grapple with immense challenges such as modernization of the force, development of a professional military, continued drawdown of its total personnel strength, the last of which is also tied to an insufficiency of housing for its officer corps. The economic instability of the last few years has greatly hindered real progress in these areas.

SECURITY ASSISTANCE ACTIVITIES

The Security Assistance Office, located in Kiev, operates as an extension of the Defense Attaché Office (DAO). As a DAO augmentee, our office enjoys the benefits of the use of DAO office space and personnel support, which extends the capabilities of our own office. We all pitch in together to support whichever activity is ongoing, be it a military-to-military contact, a visit of high ranking officials, or a project between a U.S. agency and its Ukrainian counterparts. We have the strong support of our ambassador, William Green Miller, and the Defense Attaché, Colonel Joseph S. Michalowski. At present, the Office consists of an SAO Chief (MAJ/LTC), a Training Assistant (GS 5/6), and an Interpreter/Translator Ukrainian FSN.

International Military Education and Training (IMET) is the primary U.S. security assistance program in Ukraine, although FMS sales may become a reality in the near future. Additionally, we are responsible for managing the U.S. European Command's (EUCOM's) Humanitarian Assistance Program—Excess Property (HAP—EP), and we also support the George C. Marshall Center's training of both European officials and military leaders, and U.S. Foreign Area Officer (FAO) students. We also serve as the liaison for other EUCOM initiatives such as Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreements (ACSA).

IMET is the very heart of the security assistance program in Ukraine. With a FY 1996 program of \$950,000, officers and senior officials from the Ministries of Defense, Foreign Affairs, Economics, Border Troops, and other agencies are becoming familiarized with U.S. techniques and procedures. As our pool of English speaking candidates grows, we plan to

adjust our ratio of funding English language to technical training, with the result that even more students will be able to be trained in the U.S. In 1997 alone, we expect to place students in a variety of entry-level and technical courses, in the Command and Staff Colleges of all services, and put five students in graduate level training at the Naval Post Graduate School.

Figure 2
**EMBASSY KEY PERSONNEL
U S. EMBASSY KIEV
KEY PERSONNEL**

Ambassador: Honorable William Green Miller
Deputy Chief of Mission: Mr. James Schumaker
Defense Attache: Col Joseph S. Michalowski

Sao Kiev

SAO Chief: Maj John P. Connell
Training Assistant: Ms. Donna Colvin
Admin Assistant (UKR): TBD

Phone: 380-44-244-7345 Fax: 380-44-244-7350
Address: USDAO Am Emb Kiev (Attn: SAO)
Dept of State Pouch Room
Washington D.C. 20521-5950

In-country language training is the basis for the IMET program in Ukraine. With four labs in place and a fifth scheduled to be installed by the time of this article's publication, Ukraine is now able to train many of its IMET students before their departure to technical courses in the U.S. This provides us with a steady pool of students who qualify for courses in the U.S. In fact, three-quarters of all FY 1997 students were identified before the end of FY 1996, and over one-third of all students had already completed a U.S. sponsored in-country English language training program).

Foreign Military Sales (FMS) continues to be in a hold status for Ukraine. Under the terms of the Warsaw Initiative, Ukraine was prepared to receive \$2.5 million in Foreign Military Financing. These funds are presently on hold pending a presidential determination. In the meantime, the Ukrainians have offered several proposals and have examined several U.S. propositions which include additional language labs and instructor training. President Kuchma has recently created an interagency working group to oversee all aspects of the Partnership for Peace Program, and the use of the Warsaw Initiative funding has been made part of their charter.



English Language Laboratory

In addition to IMET and FMS, the SAO office also manages EUCOM's Humanitarian Assistance Program—Excess Property. In the past several years, the U.S. has provided substantial assistance to Ukraine in the form of excess defense articles. The most notable example was the delivery of a 1000 bed hospital to Dnepopetrovsk in 1995. More recently, the SAO office has supported several Denton Amendment deliveries of medical equipment and supplies from various religious and charity organizations in the U.S.



Humanitarian Flight

We are also responsible for providing Marshall Center support. Since its founding, the George C. Marshall Center in Garmisch-Partenkirchen has served as an important bridge between east and west. Since the school opened its doors, Ukraine has sent 29 students to attend the Center's College of Strategic Studies and Defense Economics, and has sent several scores of delegates to the many conferences and seminars that the Marshall Center also conducts.

<p style="text-align: center;">Figure 3 UKRAINE SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM SUMMARY <i>(Dollars In Millions)</i></p>				
	FY 1994	FY 1995	FY 1996	FY 1997
FMF	-0-	-0-	2.500 *	2.500 **
IMET	0.600	0.600	0.950	1.000 ***
<p>* Pending Presidential Determination ** Estimated FY 1997 Warsaw Initiative *** Estimated FY 1997 IMET Program</p>				

Finally, we serve as the point of contact for other military education programs that do not fall under the auspices of IMET. In FY 1990, we saw two important firsts for Ukraine: the first Ukrainian participant in the Aviation Leadership Program (ALP), a USAF program to provide Undergraduate Pilot Training to the Distinguished Military Graduate (DMG) from the military academies of selected nations; and the first Ukrainian military cadet, Platon Shaulskiy, to be accepted to the class of 2000 at the USAF Academy, Class of 2000.

FUTURE CHALLENGES

The sky's the limit for Security Assistance in Ukraine. With a robust IMET program that will continue to improve thanks to its developed in-country language training program, we hope to see many future leaders of Ukraine who can state that training in the U.S. was an important part of their career development. The Ukrainian military leadership is receptive to mil-to-mil contacts and our various education programs, and we should expect to see more Ukrainian cadets at our military academies. Most importantly, we look forward to the day when we will be able to implement Foreign Military Sales as well as pursue joint ventures in International Cooperative Armaments programs.

CONCLUSION

Ukraine recently celebrated the fifth year anniversary of its independence. In this short time, it has had peaceful elections, drafted and approved a new constitution, become a non-nuclear state, and fielded a highly successful olympic team, to name only a few of its many accomplishments. To put this into perspective, one only needs to think back to where the United States was five years after its Declaration of Independence.

Ukraine will continue to face many hurdles as it goes through the process of nation building. The issues of transitioning to a free market economy, converting Ukraine's vast armaments industry to peaceful applications, continuing to train the future key leaders of its government, and raising the quality of life for its people are only the tip of a very large iceberg. Yet, the majority of repeat visitors to Ukraine never cease to marvel at the vast changes and improvements that have taken place since their last visit. With the determination of the Ukrainian people to make theirs a better land, I believe Ukraine's proudest moments are still to come.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Major John P. Connell is the Security Assistance Officer at the U.S. Embassy in Kiev, Ukraine. His last assignment was as a Brigade S3 and S4, First Infantry Division, Fort Riley, Kansas. He has also served as a company commander, helicopter instructor pilot, and battalion S1. He is a graduate of the University of Nebraska, and holds a Masters Degree in International Relations from Troy State University. Major Connell is a graduate of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff Officer Course, the United States Army Russian Institute, and is a graduate of the Defense Language Institute in both German and Russian.

REFERENCES

Orest Subteloy, *UKRAINE: A History*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Canada, 1988.

Ukraine, Background notes. 1995, Department of State. Washington D.C.

Oleksiy Petrunya, *Ukraine: History and Modern Realities*. Society Ukraine Press, Kiev, Ukraine, 1993.

Central Intelligence Agency, *CIA World Fact Book*, 1994, Washington D.C.